THE BALLANCE: OR, A NEW TEST OF THE High-Fliers of all Sides:

Being a Short

VIEW OF THE Riſe of our Preſent Factions,

WITH

A New Hiſtory of Paſſive-Obedience, and a Propoſal of a Bill againſt Occaſional Conformity that may Paſs both Houſes.

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BALLADS.

NEW AND OLD.

VOL. I.

Printed in the Year 1765.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO THE CLERGY OF THE Church of *England.*

Most Reverend, Right Reverend, and Reverend.

THIS *Epistle is not directed to those, whose* Moderation is known unto all Men, *who as their* Church *is the Glory of Christianity, are the Glory of their* Church; *who remember that our Holy* Religion *had its Rise under, and made its Way through all the Oppression of Persecution, and all the Opposition of the* Sword, *and* Temporal Power, *purely by the Force of* Truth, *and the Favour and Will of the* most High; *but to those who mistaking the Spirit of Meekness, the Spirit of the* Gospel, *are for Fire and Faggot; not only for calling down Fire from Heaven against these, who cast out Devils in the Name of Christ, and cure Distempers, because they walk not with them; who are for calling in the Auxiliary Helps of Persecution to defend the* Church *in its full Growth, which God deny'd it in its Infan-*

cy, as if they were wiſer, than Procidence, and that Truth were inſufficient to maintain it ſelf by its own Force, as well as raiſe it ſelf above all her Oppoſers and Perſecutors by it.

I deſire to ask theſe Gentlemen whether they have throughly conſidered what they are? That is, do they conſider that they are the Miniſters of Peace *and* Union; *that the Mark of the Diſciples of Chriſt is to* Love one another; *and that without this* Love *of one another they cannot be acceptable to their* Divine *Inſtitutor? But the* Church, *the* Church, *is in Danger! from Whom? How? And which Way? That all of them have forgot to demonſtrate. For I hope thoſe Gentlemen, who have ſo often and ſo vehemently declaim'd againſt the Diſcontents of our Fathers on (what they ſuppoſe) Jealouſies and Fears, will be very cautious of incurring an Imputation, which they ſeem ſo much to condemn in others. Is there any Parallel in the Caſe? Will they make all thoſe Violations of Right, and Encroachments on the Liberty and Property of the Subject, which were made by that unhappy Prince* Charles I. *when Taxes were rais'd without Parliamentary Authority, meer* Jealouſies *and* Fears? *And yet juſtifie themſelves in this Noiſie Heat and Zeal, which they wou'd fain make the World believe they have for the Churches Safety, without giving One Inſtance of her Rights, Immunities and Priviledges being in the leaſt invaded.*

Are any of the Eccleſiaſtick Preferments poſſeſs'd by People unqualified by the Law? If ſo, why take they not the Remedy preſcrib'd by the Law? Which if deny'd them, they might have ſome Shadow of Pretence for all the Buſtle they make, but ſince there is nothing of this in Being, ſince there is not the leaſt appearance to ground any Apprehenſions of this upon; but a Queen Born and Bred up in the Church, a conſtant frequenter of it, as Pious and Religious a Princeſs as ever adorn'd the Throne, who has for the Sake of the Clergy parted with a Branch of her Revenue, and who in ſhort has omitted nothing for the Honour and Good of the Church, ſuch a Queen, I ſay, Guardian of the Laws, which are her Security, Biſhops according to the Canons of the Church, Pious and Learned, what reaſonable Fear can any Man in his Senſes have, that it is poſſible there ſhou'd

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be any Assaults made by any, or all, Dissenting Parties against it?

I have that Esteem for, and Opinion of the Clergy, that I must suppose them Men of Sense and Learning, and cannot therefore but be convinc'd that what I have urg'd is undeniably true; nay, I challenge any of them to give a rational Cause of any Fear of the contrary, or one Instance to build this Fear upon. If so (as certainly it is so) we may very easily see that the Good, Safety and Prosperity of the Church of England, is the least thing they have in View; but that so popular a Pretence is made use of only to draw in, and amuse the Minds of such honest Clergymen, who cou'd not be prevail'd, with to give into their Designs, if they were barefac'd, and appear'd in their Native Colours and Deformity.

All Attempts had been made to promote a Cause which all the Nation had declar'd against, and of which the very Clergy themselves on the Revolution were most vehement Opposers. Plots upon Plots had miscarry'd, and the Late King James all along disappointed in his Return to those Kingdoms, and his Abdicated Throne; nor cou'd all the Treasonable Pamphlets, and Seditious Papers, that were perpetually spread about for that End, ever make any Impression on the People, or any Converts to the Cause; What then must they do? What Course must they take? As profest Jacobites they cou'd not Act; every one was on his Guard against their Insinuations and Efforts. So that some other Expedient must be found out, and that was the Advice of St. Germains, that all that were true Friends should take the Oaths, get into Parliament, or Places, which would enable them much more effectually to promote that Interest, than by remaining out of Power. In Obedience to this Direction, many at several Times came in and took the Oaths to the Government in the Morning, and in the Afternoon rail'd, as heartily against it, as ever.

The only plausible Way, that was thought on for executing their Design, was to assume a Zeal for the Church, to bring in Religion for a taking Vizor, under which Disguise they might deceive the Unwary, and the Honest. 'Tis true, few Men of Judgment cou'd be impos'd on, but there were Knaves and Fools enough for their

Turn

Turn, to embroil the State, and set us together by the Ears. The Church of England *was the Cry, but they meant the* Passive-Obedience *and* Non-resistance Church *in the Days of* Slavery; *they loath'd the* Manna *of* Liberty *like the* Jews, *and long'd for the* Flesh-Pots *and* Onions *of* Egypt; *they had forgot their Task-Masters, and courted again that Bondage, they cou'd not before undergo. What Wheedling, what Cajoling the Dissenters, to join them when* Popery *was at their Doors, and when they felt the Tyranny they had extoll'd, as long as they suffer'd nothing by it; and yet when they had gain'd their Point, remov'd* Popery, *and driven their King, the Protector and Champion of it, into Exile, they cry for him back again, invite the Yoak they were afraid of, and wou'd once more surrender the Lives, Liberties and Religion of the Nation, to the Power, Humour, and Whim of* One *Man.*

Is this a Conduct answerable to the Veneration, that is due to your Coat? Is such a wavering Temper what will make Converts to your Cause? Or can you suppose, that you can decrease the Number of Dissenters *by declaring for* Popery; *or, what is all one, Own and Espouse the Party of that Person, whose Books have propos'd a Union betwixt the* Papists *and the* Church, *but allows no Medium of it betwixt Protestants? I must with Earnestness, for the* Honour *and* Glory *of the* Church of England, *recommend to your Zeal the abolishing all* Arbitrary Principles, *since 'tis most certain, that all the* Dissenting *Preachers never drew half the Number from the* Church, *that* Passive-Obedience *and* Non-resistance *have driven thence; for Men who have had the Benefit of a Liberal Education, are frighten'd from a Communion, which they cannot maintain without being Slaves.*

I must likewise remember you, that there is not one of you who have not taken Oaths to the Present Government, *and an* **Abjuration** *of all other Pretenders; and therefore while you advance Principles destructive of those Oaths and that Government you have sworn to, you depreciate your selves, and raise such a Contempt of the* Clergy, *that all good Men wou'd grieve to reflect on. For my own Part, I can with Sincerity and Truth averr, that no Man living can have a greater and juster Ve-*

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neration for the Character, than my self, and for all those good and worthy Gentlemen, who do not derogate from it. But I confess I have very little Consideration for those Men, who villify it so far, as to make it subservient to mean and abandon'd Ends.

I am confident, that all good Clergy-men will approve the following Treatise, because it is wrote with such an Impartiality, as must be agreeable to Lovers of Truth; and I am satisfy'd that no Friend to the present Establishment can dislike what I have writ, and that no Enemy of it can disprove the Reasons and Arguments I have brought. I confess it is no very politick thing to side with no Party, when all People seem mad to be in one Party or other; I have little Hopes by this Way of making any Friends of either Side; but my Aim was Nobler, it was indeed to make an Essay at the Discovery, and by Consequence the Disappointment of all Party-Men, *by that Means to promote* Peace *and* Union, *which her Majesty has so often recommended from the Throne, and which our* Saviour *himself enjoined all his Disciples.*

You, Gentlemen, are the Ministers of the Gospel *of* Love, *show that you are so by promoting* Love, *not* Hate; *not* Feuds, *not* Factions, *to involve your* Native Country *in Ruin for* Hard Words, Jealousies and Fears. *If you are truly Zealous for the* Church of England, *as by Law* now *Establish'd, give not those, who dissent from it so great a* Scandal, *as to make us believe you think it inconsistent with* Law, Scripture *and* Reason; *censure these* Interlopers, *those* Impudent Hypocrites, *who pretend under your Name to write for that Government which they pretend their Consciences will not let them* Swear *to. These* Mental Reservations, *these* Equivocal Pretences, *are so Scandalous, that they deserve your Check. If you are not in your Consciences for the present Establishment, disgrace not Religion, and your Character so easily, as not to own the Truth, and prefer your Consciences to all those little Temporal Advantages, which you can derive from so abandon'd an Hypocrisie. Be Men, and dare to avow the Principle publickly, which in your Hearts you own. And if you are secretly* Jacobites, *have*

Courage

The Epiſtle Dedicatory.

Courage or Honeſty enough not to deny your Opinion, or at leaſt not to pretend to the contrary. If you are for Queen ANNE, *and the Proteſtant Succeſſion, on the Bottom of the* Revolution, *ſide not with their profeſt Ememies, nor revive Doctrines abſolutely deſtructive of them, and then call them Doctrines of the preſent Church of* England, *tho' not to be found in her Articles or Canons, or in the Word of God, on which thoſe ought to be Built. Shelter your ſelves no more under Advocates, whoſe Arguments and Opinions are directly contrary to Her Majeſties Right, and the Laws of God and the Nation; and who refuſe to acknowledge the preſent Government, either in Church or State.*

To put an End to this tedious Epiſtle. I ſhall conclude that from **you** *alone any Danger can come to the* Church; *for while your* Violence *and* Tenents *alienate the Hearts of your People from Her, in vain you ſtruggle for* Chymerical *Bulwarks to defend Her, while your Conduct drives all the Garriſon to deſert Her. But to ſhow your ſelves* True *Church-Men. Preach* Peace *and* Union; *diſcover the* Party-Men, *defend* **Liberty, Property,** *and* **Law;** *love your* Country *and* Queen, *live* Soberly, *act* Charitably, *and you'd ſoon win all the Diſſenters, and fill the Boſom of your* Mother *the* Church *with Thouſands of Children; the* Bugbear Vizor, *you now put on Her, frights away from her Arms. That your Example and Doctrine may be truly of the Church of* England, *is the Prayer of*

Gentlemen,

Your Friend and Servant,

Philuſebiæ.

THE

BALLANCE:

OR, A

NEW TEST

OF THE

High-fliers of all Sides.

IT is not out of an Itch of Scribbling, that I ſend this Pamphlet abroad; or that I have any particular Intereſt in either of the contending Parties, but out of a true *Engliſh* Principle to ſerve my Country, and put an End, if poſſible, to thoſe Diviſions which may prove Fatal to her; while *Private Aims*, Maſqu'd under the Specious Appearance of **Publick Good**, are carried on with ſuch Violence on both ſides; and many *Good* and *Honeſt* Men are engag'd in and ſupport the Quarrel, being miſled by the falſe Appearance of Things, and

perſwaded to either Party, as the plauſibility of their Arguments touch their particular Inclinations, and ſo impoſe on their Judgments.

The pretended Danger of the *Church of England* from the Diſſenters, I am very certain has won many an honeſt, and well-meaning Man to eſpouſe the violent Meaſures of thoſe, who had nothing leſs in their Heads, than the Good and Proſperity of the **Church of England**, *as by Law eſtabliſh'd.*

Thus on the other ſide, the Danger that ſome Men wou'd perſwade us that our Liberty and Property are in, has hurry'd away many Publick-Spirited Men to a Violence no way conſiſtent with the Love we owe our Conſtitution, and by Conſequence that Part of it which has *always* been its *Security* and *Support.*

Too few dive into the *hidden* Cauſes of things, and the *Firſt* Movers of Actions, or can eaſily diſtinguiſh betwixt the *Knavery* and *Honeſty* of a Deſign. The *Jacobites* worn out with their Sufferings, (for ſo they call'd their being out of Employment) during the Reign of our Glorious Monarch King *William* the Third, after all their diſappointed Attempts, by Plots, and open Aſſaults on the Government, found that they muſt take other Meaſures, if ever they hop'd to come into Buſineſs by reſtoring their Maſter.

They look'd with an invidious Eye on that Unanimity of Counſels, and that Friendly Correſpondence betwixt the *Church* and the *Diſſenters*, which was viſible, a great Part of that Monarch's Reign; and had no hopes while this good

Understanding continued, that they cou'd gain their Ends. Their Endeavour therefore was First to divide a Force, which they had found too formidable when united. To this End one Person who had lost most of his Fortune in Wagers against the Government, and who was deny'd a Place in the Government, for a Solemn Proposal to the Ministers of State, which must have sunk the Government by destroying its Credit, was employ'd first to attack the Administration, while others were to instil a Fear of the *Churches* Ruin from the *Dissenters*, the Danger of which was magnify'd, openly sung'd, or cautiously insinuated, as the Person to be engag'd was more or less Hot, and Zealous, or Knowing.

Having by these Ways thrown in the Apple of Division, they omitted no Means of improving its Effects, till the long Union was began to break, and *Jealousies* and *Fears* were spread on both Sides, which every Day widen'd the Breach, yet during the King's Life they made not their open and barefac'd Efforts. Their Pamphlets were more cautious, and their Endeavours hid under other Pretexts. But no sooner had we lost his Majesty, but fir'd with new Hopes they cast off the Disguise, *Blaspheming* his Memory, and Condemning the **Revolution**, publish'd Treasonable Papers even against her Majesties Right to the Crown.

With King *William*, the *Dissenters* felt their Resentment, he for a Favourer of them in Prejudice of the *Church*, and they for being their *Rivals* in his Care, still calling themselves the **Church of**

 England,

England, tho' they had Abdicated its Communion, and ſet up ſeparate Conventicles.

This engaging the Church in their Quarrel, encreas'd their Party to a formidable Degree, too many letting a blind Zeal tranſport them to a Conduct their unbiaſs'd Judgment cou'd never have choſen.

This is the Riſe of one of the **Parties** that now divide the Nation, when Union is ſo neceſſary for our common Happineſs, and ſo often and ſo tenderly recommended by our moſt Gracious Queen. To do impartial Juſtice, I ſhall now look into the Ground and Riſe of the other equally, if not more culpable than this; I mean the *Modern Whigs*, and *Politick Diſſenters*.

The Severities the Diſſenters felt in the Reign of King *Charles* II. have been urg'd for their Excuſe, in accepting a Declaration of Liberty of Conſcience, which was contrary to *Law*, by which they *acknowledg'd* a Power in the *Prince* to diſſolve all the Security of their *Property* and *Religion*, and choſe to give both a precarious Dependance on the Will of a Prince, whoſe contrary Opinion in Religion was avow'd, and whoſe Maxims in Politicks were ſufficiently known to be *Arbitrary*, and whoſe Bigottry compell'd him to make uſe of the firſt Opportunity to ſuppreſs all that he thought Hereſie. For if he cou'd *Suſpend* (that is in Effect *Abrogate*) One Law by his *Prerogative*, he cou'd *All*, ſince all had one and the ſame Sanction; yet I cannot pretend to juſtifie them in it, without giving up our Conſtitution. However, on the **Revolution**, which was the Contrivance of the Mem-

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bers of the *Church of England* in Conjunction with her Heads and Paſtors, without any Concurrence with, or Conſultation of the *Diſſenters*, if we may give any Credit to their fulſome Addreſſes to that unhappy Prince *James* II. in which they thank'd him for their Liberty of Conſcience in Terms very near approaching to Blaſphemy. For we cannot ſuppoſe them ſuch *Hypocrites* as to act privately, contrary to ſuch *Publick* and *Solemn* Profeſſions.

But however juſtifiable this may be in **Patriots**, and inviolable Lovers of the Laws of their Country, it matters not any farther, than to ſhow that private Intereſt too often influences the Actions of Men, whoſe Profeſſions have been very *clamarouſly* Zealous of the contrary. So that we ought not to wonder if we find many of them Friends to **Arbitrary Power** afterwards, this Complement to it having ſecur'd them a *Legal* Liberty of Conſcience on the **Revolution.**

The *Revolution* being now fixt with the Crown on King *William*'s Head, by the *Abdication* of King *James*, the Stateſmen having ſome Reaſon to fear that the *Tories*, whoſe Reſentments had given them *Whiggiſh* Principles for their own Redreſs, in calling over the Prince of *Orange*, wou'd not be ſo faithful to this new Opinion (the Fear that caus'd it being remov'd) as was plain in ſo many of them forſaking the Common Cauſe, on the filling the Vacant Throne with King *William* III. and at the ſame time conſidering, that the *Diſſenters* wou'd not be more conſtant to their new-aſſum'd *Toryiſm*, thought their long-avow'd Principle a greater

Security

Security to the *Revolution*, than thoſe of the Devotees to a **Lineal Succeſſion**, and **Paſſive Obedience**, unleſs they cou'd tranſlate that Doctrine to whoever poſſeſs'd the **Throne**. This made the Miniſters of State careſs the *Diſſenters*, and Men reputed favourable to them, which gave them Admiſſion to Places of *Value* and *Truſt*, to Magiſtracies, Elections for Members of Parliament, *&c.*

The ſame Opinion of the *Diſſenters Engliſh* Principle drew many true *Engliſhmen* to Favour, and Vote with them, till their *ſlaviſh* Siding with the *Abuſers* of the Adminiſtration, and the cunning Inſinuations of the *Jacobites*, made room for the firſt Diſtinction of *Court* and *Country Party* after the **Revolution**. For many of the *Whigs* finding the Intereſt and Advantage of Preferment, thought they cou'd not pay too dear for them, and therefore ſtood by their *Patron's* Right or Wrong; nor ſcrupl'd to Vote without regard to *Liberty* and *Property*, the *Laws of the Land*, *&c.* if oppoſite to *theirs* and *their Patrons* particular Aims and Benefit.

This made too eaſie a Way for the Influence of *Jacobite* Counſels on the *true* Sons of the *Church*, and the real *Old Whigs*, who knew not how to part with their *Property* to the Grandeur of the *Diſſenters*, more than to that of the *Papiſts*, or *High-Church* Party. And hence ſprung all the preſent Controverſie, which has engag'd too many on both Sides, without weighing the *Merits* of either Cauſe, or diſtinguiſhing how far either aims at the

Publick

Publick Good, or ſome other ſiniſter Deſign, veil'd under ſo *ſpecious* a Pretence.

By examining the Methods of each, we ſhall find how far *Sincerity* has a ſhare in their Conduct, for if that be not agreeable to their Profeſſions, I hope they will no longer be able to impoſe either on the Honeſt Conſciencious *Diſſenter* or *Churchman:* And then the Danger wou'd be ſmall to the *Publick*, ſince the truly Factious are neither *numerous* nor *formidable* when known, and mark'd out to the View of every *Engliſhman*.

In this Examen I ſhall give the Precedence to the *High-Churchman*, as pretending to be a Member of the Church *Eſtabliſh'd by Law*; and having diſpatch'd him, I ſhall proceed to do the ſame with the *High-Diſſenter*, or *Modern Whigg*.

If we may believe the faireſt Profeſſions of both, the *Church* only Aims to ſecure her eſtabliſh'd Rights, without *Invading* or *Weakening* the **Liberty of Conſcience**, or **Act of Toleration**. The *Diſſenter* on the other Hand wou'd have us believe that he only ſtruggles for ſecuring a *Freedom of his Religion*, and the *Safety* of his *Property*, without any Eye on a **Power** *Equal* or *Superior* to the **Church Eſtabliſhed**, by robbing her of her *Legal Rights*. And thus far they are both *juſt* in their Pretenſions if they are ſincere; but that let us a little more cloſely conſider.

I think there is no Man that pretends to *Reaſon* will think the Church in the Right, if ſhe claim by all her Stir a Prerogative of perſecuting others that *diſſent* from her. That is, if by the late Bill ſhe meant to reaſſume the *Penal Laws*, which a Reign,

Reign, not very remarkable for *Liberty* and *Property*, once gave her, and by which (to the ſhame of the Reformation be it ſpoken) ſhe ruin'd (if we may believe the Accounts) Threeſcore Thouſand Families in theſe Nations; Effects as dreadful of a **Protestant Inquiſition**, as any can be given of the **Papiſts**.

The Grounds of this Suſpicion, (from whence her Enemies have improv'd and magnify'd the *Jealouſie*) are the reviving a Doctrine, which once before gave her that *deſtructive Power*, by a flattering Complement to the Prince of the *Deſpotic Diſpoſition* of the *Rights* and *Lives* of all his Subjects without Oppoſition, in the Doctrine of **Paſſive Obedience, Non-reſiſtance**, and the **Divine Right** of an *Immediate* and *Lineal Succeſſion*; and an inveterate Summons to *Perſecution* by Mr. *Sacheverel* in his Sermon at one of our *Univerſities*, Licens'd by the Head of it, the *Vice-Chancellor*, with Mr. *Stubbs*, and all the Pamphlets of the Author of the *Caſſandra*.

For Mr. *de Foe's Short Way with the Diſſenters* was wrote on Purpoſe to expoſe this *Violent Doctrine*, and fill'd with ſuch *true* Notions of the *Party*, that I have heard more than *one* ſay, *he cou'd not anſwer the Reaſons he had brought for that Short Way*. Yet he was put in the Pillory, and *Sacheverel* had the Stamp of Authority, not to ſay the Thanks of the *Univerſity*.

If theſe Gentlemen, who pretend to be of and for the **Church**, wou'd reflect how near to *Deſtruction* they once before have brought their magnify'd **Church of England**, and were *really* her Sons, and

truly

truly Zealous for its *Happineſs* and *Safety*, they wou'd be more cautious how they again promoted ſo *dangerous* an Error, from the Ill Effects of which they had no way to reſcue her, but by applying to a *Foreign Power*, and the Army of a *Nation*, who were not *entirely Engliſh*.

The **Revolution** which this Doctrine occaſion'd, and on *whoſe Bottom* our *preſent* Government ſtands, ſhou'd keep in their Minds, that their *Church* before this time had not been *in Rerum Natura*, had not the Prince of *Orange* come over, on the Invitation of the Lords **Spiritual** and *Temporal*, with Biſhop *Sancroft* at their Head, with many of the leading Commons and Clergy, to bring King *James* to Reaſon.

I wou'd likewiſe have them remember the *Pamphlets* they wrote, their *Letters to the Diſſenters*, and the reſt, too long here to enumerate. Nay, I wou'd have ſome very hot Gentlemen of their Party, and thoſe Conſiderable among them, remember the Time when their Violence againſt King *James* made them Dear to the Proteſtants, as Odious to the Papiſts; either they acted publickly againſt their Principle then, or act as publickly againſt it now. Either of which is ſufficient to deſtroy their Sincerity, and by conſequence their *Influence* with *Good* Men, as driving on an Intereſt, which they hope more beneficial, than what they can expect from the *preſent* Eſtabliſhment.

I know it is, and has been objected in defence of Archbiſhop *Sancroft*, and ſome others who went but half Way in the Glorious Work of the *Revolution*,

that they intended not to Dethrone King *James*, by inviting in the Prince of *Orange*, or in ſubſcribing that Paper, which deſir'd him to come to *Guild-Hall*, but only to ſecure the **Church**, remove the *Papiſts* from Poſts and Power, and free him from *Evil Counſellors*, and that done by the calling a *Free Parliament*, the Prince and his Men ſhould return to *Holland*, and leave the King in *full* Poſſeſſion of his *Throne* and *Dominions*.

If this were their *real* Intentions, it does not at all clear theſe Gentlemen from an effectual Breach of their **Paſſive Obedience** and **Non-reſiſtance**. For bringing a War into the *Bowels* of his Country, and by *Force* of a Foreign Army to compel him to what they deſire, is an incomprehenſible Act of **Paſſive Obedience** to his Commands, and the **Reſiſtance** of his Commands, with *great* and *ſmall Guns*, was an odd way of obſerving **Non-reſiſtance**, and not at all agreeable to their boaſted Inſtance of the *Thebean Legion*; and I know no Way they had, if the King ſhou'd have prov'd *obſtinate*, and inſiſted on their Fundamental *Bow-ſtring Doctrine*, but to have ſurrender'd themſelves with Halters about their Necks, that the *Jure Divino* King might hang them all for *Rebels* and *Traytors*. Nor can I ſee any difference in regard of this *Principle*, betwixt what they did, and *Dethroning* him. Taking away his *Abſolute Power*, is in their Senſe to make him ceaſe to be a *King*, and that I think is to *Dethrone* him. And by making him not only accountable to them by force of Arms, for his *former* Actions, but e'en for *what is to come* bound by their Rules,

is taking *God's Providence* out of his Hands, to whom *only* they ſuppoſe him *accountable*.

But granting (in complaiſance to theſe Gentlemen, to whom if we granted nothing, they wou'd have nothing to ſay for themſelves) that this *was* their Intention, and that they had no Thoughts of ſending their *King* out of *England*, but only of chaſtiſing him, and correcting his *Headſtrong* Humour, and leaving him as great, and as much a *King* as ever, (for unleſs they did that they were equally culpable with the *Forty-One* Gentlemen, whom they ſo much declare againſt) what can we ſay of them, but that they were *Fools* as well as *Rebels*. Did Archbiſhop *Sancroft* and the reſt propoſe to themſelves any *Security* for the future, by inviting the Prince of *Orange* and his Army over? If they did, what *Security* cou'd they, in Reaſon, have, if the King, on the Prince's *departure*, had again the Power to revoke all that he did through Fear when he was *preſent*? Nay, wou'd he not have had a *juſt* or a *plauſible* Pretence of the *Nullity* of *all* Acts done under ſuch a *Compulſion*? So that by this Means they only furniſh'd him with the Means of uſing them Ten times worſe, when the *Power* was once again in his Hands, by providing a *better* Security in a *French* Army, than in their boaſted **Paſſive Obedience** and **Non-reſiſtance**, which they cou'd diſpence with as often as they thought convenient? Cou'd they on ſuch an Event ever hope for the *Repetition* of ſo fruitleſs an Expedition from any other *Foreign* Power, or that the Prince of *Orange* cou'd ever more be *wheedl'd* to follow the Will of ſuch *weak Politicians*.

But ſay ſome of them, we did not propoſe that the King ſhould return to *Holland*, but remain here *General of our Army*, and *Principal Miniſter of State*, and without whoſe Approbation *nothing* was to be done. This was in Effect to *Dethrone* him, or what is as bad, to make him but a *Nominal King*, in whom nothing of *Jus Divinum* was to be found? For while *He* had the *Title*, the *Prince* was to have the *Power*. This, at *beſt*, had render'd him a *Priſoner* at large, a *Captive* on a *Throne*, whoſe Guards of Defence had been Guards of his Perſon in another Senſe. So that every Way we find theſe Gentlemen as Guilty of an *abſolute* Breach of **Paſſive Obedience** and **Non-reſiſtance**, as any *Roundhead*, *or Whig* in *England*.

Having thus ſhown this Doctrine exploded by its *greateſt Defenders*, let us now examine the reaſonableneſs of it, and winnow the ſuperficial Arguments brought for it by its moſt Zealous Conſeſſors.

This monſtrous Doctrine, notwithſtanding its boaſted Antiquity, is not older than the *Reformation*, and the *firſt* Book I ever ſaw writ purpoſely on that Subject was in King *James* the Firſt's Time, call'd *Deus & Rex*. Thoſe who run to the *Primitive* Times of *Chriſtianity* for its Riſe are meer *Sophiſts*, nor can they produce one *fair* Text in the Two Teſtaments for an Opinion ſo *contrary* to the Good of *Humane Society*, which was the *Aim* of God in our Creation, as may be eaſily made out if there were the leaſt Occaſion. Their Inſtances of Hiſtory are *equally weak*, for that of the

the *Theban Legion* is allow'd to be much controverted and uncertain; but if true, of no manner of Force or Proof. For allowing them the more numerous when they were *Martyr'd*, than their Executioners, yet ſure they never ſuppos'd, nor can any one imagine that they were more Powerful, than the whole *Roman* Empire then *Heathen*. But ſuppoſing this Matter of Fact, here is nothing to their Purpoſe, this, and all that is brought from the Primitive Chriſtians for Non-reſiſtance, is only as to Religion, which amounts to no more, than that the Goſpel was not to be promoted or introduced by the Sword. And in this here comes in nothing of Laws, Nature, Rights, Liberty, and the like. So that if any Uſe can be drawn from this Doctrine, it only can be, that we Sin againſt God by oppoſing a Popiſh King's bringing in Popery. Tho' the Biſhop of *Ely*, afterward a Confeſſor to this Cauſe, in the Debates betwixt the Lords and Commons, allows that a Falſe Religion in a King is a Forfeiture of the Crown.

We muſt therefore look for ſome other *Original* of this Doctrine, which was in reality this. The Church of *Rome*, or the *Pope* had for ſome Ages uſurpt a *Temporal Power* over the Kings and Princes of the *Chriſtian* World, by which they pretended to deprive them of their Crowns, and abſolve their Subjects from their Oaths of Allegiance. This made all Princes meer *Feudatories* to the Court of *Rome*, and gave them a very *precarious* Power. This made the firſt *Reformers* to ingratiate themſelves with Kings and Princes, declare againſt this *Uſurpation*, and that they were Subject to *God alone*,

and

and to him *only* accountable for their Actions. This, tho' only at firſt deſign'd againſt this Antichriſtian Uſurpation of the *Temporal* and *Executive* Power by the *Pope*, was (eſpecially in *England*) run to that Degree of Madneſs, to ſet the *King* above all *Laws*; and while they gave him the *Papal* Supremacy of the *Church*, they threw in that of the State into the Bargain.

When the *Reformation* was fixt, by the Wiſe and Proſperous Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the *Reform'd*, now in Peace and Security, began to divide in Opinion, and then the firſt *Puritans* appear'd, the *Clergy* being of the *King's* Religion, were for magnifying the King's Power, by which they might with more Eaſe triumph over their Opponents, and convince more, than by Argument; for they being then generally great Enthuſiaſts, wou'd have little Regard to the Force of Right Reaſon. The *Puritans* on the other Side being of the *Suffering* Party, and oppreſs'd by the *King* and the *Government*, entertain'd ſuch Principles, as were moſt agreeable to the *Eaſe* of their Condition, and that was, that there was no ſuch *inherent Right in Kings*, and that it was *Lawful*, when they were able, *to vindicate themſelves from any Tyranny* they groan'd under.

Thus the *Motive* of the *Church of England's* taking up this Doctrine ceaſing in King *James* II. and their Caſe making every Day nearer Approaches to the *Primitive* State of the *Puritans*, they aſſum'd *their* Principle, put it into Act, having Power to do it, and turn'd out that

King,

King, that had but attack'd their *very Outworks*.

But this is not the only Inſtance of the *unpaſſive* Practice of the *Church of England*, the *New Teſt of her Loyalty* abounds with them, which Book was never anſwer'd, and to which therefore I refer the Reader.

After this, how *little* Reaſon have the *Churchmen* to keep ſuch a *Pother* with 41, and 48, againſt the *Diſſenters*, the *laſt* of which is ill-grounded, when thrown on the *Body of the Diſſenters*, ſince it was the Act of a few Men of no Party but their *own?* As for the *Firſt*, it was no more than the *Church of England* did againſt the Son in 88, only *they* did it by an *Engliſh*, the *Churchmen* by a *Foreign Power*. But neither of theſe *Revolutions* indeed can be laid as a Crime to *either* Party, ſince they were *in Reality* produc'd by the **Violent Meaſures** taken by thoſe Two Princes, by the Inſtigation of the *Hotheaded* Prieſts of *both* Religions, and their Tools; theſe of the former are evident from the Characters of the Perſons in my Lord *Clarendon*'s Hiſtory, thoſe of the latter from our own Experience and Knowledge. The former was a War of *Property* more, than *Religion*, tho' that was brought in to promote the other, the *latter* was for both *Religion* and *Property*.

After this Summary Account of the Birth and Death of *Paſſive Obedience*, to obviate all Objections I ſhall ſay a few Words on the unreaſonableneſs of that Doctrine; becauſe thoſe furious Gentlemen who were for reviving it, plead that there

there is no Argument from the Practice to the Juſtice of the Principle.

To make any Principle Juſt and Reaſonable, it muſt be founded in Nature, or the revealed Will of God; but this Doctrine is againſt both, it muſt therefore be unjuſt as unreaſonable. To prove the Major, we muſt conſider the End of God's making Man, and that was his *Happineſs* (for the Point of his *Glory* is contain'd in that) and this Happineſs cou'd not be attain'd but by Humane Society: Since Man cou'd not ſingly ſubſiſt with Safety or Convenience, *Humane Society* therefore being order'd for **Humane Happineſs**, all the Means and Meaſures of Humane Society muſt be ſubordinate to the End; theſe Meaſures and Means are the *Moral Laws*, and the *Magiſtracy* or *Government*, which is to watch over theſe Laws with an Impartial Eye, that they being equally adminiſtred to all, that the Principal End of *Humane Society*, for which both *Laws* and *Magiſtrates* were choſen, **Humane Happineſs** might be obtain'd. Now there is nothing neceſſary in this, that theſe Laws ſhou'd be Guarded by One, or More, Succeſſion, or Election, any further than that it ſhou'd always be in the Power of *Humane Society* to diſable any one Perſon from fruſtrating God's End of *Humane Society*, which is **Humane Happineſs**. But a *Tyrant* deſtroys this End, by breaking all thoſe Laws fix'd in the Nature of Mankind by its Divine Creator, and on which Man's Happineſs entirely depends; it is therefore againſt the Natural Law of God not to Dethrone him, and Advance ſome other. For what odd Notion have thoſe

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Men of the Divine Wiſdom and Goodneſs, who think Forty Millions of Men moſt more Juſt, and Wiſe, and Pious, than the Prince, ſhou'd be created for the Arbitrary Whim of *One Man*, Spight of his Folly or his Paſſions; nay, tho' he be the very next Degree to an Ideot! A Man of common Senſe, who had not ſeen the Elaborate Volumes of *Tinſel Reaſons*, writ to prove this ridiculous Paradox, wou'd not believe that any People of this ſide Barbarity cou'd entertain ſo very abſurd and impious a Notion.

Here the Nature of the Subject brings in ſome bold Aſſertions of that Party, (I cannot call them Arguments) for *Tyranny*, the firſt, is that we are in all Forms of Government rul'd by an Arbitrary Power, ſince even our Houſes of Parliament, tho' pretty numerous, are led which Way they pleaſe by a few, if not by one Man; and thoſe Leaders by ſome one Intereſt, either of the Prince, or ſome other. So that in the laſt Reſult *Arbitrary Power* Governs all, ev'n the moſt Free Common-Wealths, or Kingdoms. If the World were not very well acquainted with the Temper, and Genius of theſe Patrons of Tyranny, a Man wou'd expect ſome very unheard of, as well as weighty Arguments for ſo Whimſical an Aſſertion. But if you expect more of them, than their poſitive *ſay ſo*, you muſt be diſappointed. They are not of Opinion, that *in the Multitude of Counſellors is Safety*, but that all Councils are directed, or led by ſome one, ſo that it wou'd be all one if the Prince had none at all, for indeed they build on a Poſition impoſſible to be prov'd.

But on the contrary, it is plain from Experience, that in our great Councils of the Nation, the moſt popular and leading Members have not been able to carry many Points, or bring the *Houſes* after them, when they have chang'd their Sides. Theſe are concluſive Inſtances of the Truth of the contrary to their Poſition. But unleſs a Man of the beſt Judgment were to hear all the Tranſactions, and know all the Motives and Reaſons of every Member, it is impoſſible to prove what they aſſert; and if this were done, I am very ſure it wou'd prove directly the contrary, as is evident from the Arguments and Reaſons *Pro* and *Con* of Points debated in each Houſe, and betwixt the Two. So that in ſhort this bold Affirmation is *gratis dicta*, and without the ſhadow of a Reaſon, but may paſs off with an Air over a Bottle, from ſome formal tho' hot, Demagogue of the Party, among his ſottiſh Adorers.

There is likewiſe another Falacy in their Notion of *Arbitrary Power*, for ſome of them mean *that there is ſome laſt Power from which there is no Appeal, and definitively determines all things*; which is true, but far from the meaning of *Arbitrary Power* in the common Acceptation, which *is a Power plac'd in the Will of One Man, at the diſpoſe of which are all the Lives and Properties of his Subjects*, let that Will be never ſo much miſguided by the Ignorance, Folly or Paſſion, either of himſelf, or Favourites, that in Obedience to this *Will* we ought to ſubmit, if it rob us of our Wives or Daughters, our Goods or Eſtate, ſell us to a Foreign Prince for Slaves, torture us alive, and make us die on Racks, and this not One, Two, or a Thouſand, but

all

all his Subjects, Men, Women and Children, who if they shou'd capitulate with them with a why do you so? The Tyrant ought, as I have heard a Man of Note say, to cut them all to pieces, Men, Women and Children. This is what we commonly mean by *Arbitrary Power*, a Will not bounded by, but above all Laws. Now this *Arbitrary Power* cannot be in *Many*, for 'tis confin'd to One; the Many themselves, tho' Legislators, are bound by the very Laws they make, and which are not Laws but by the Consent of the People in their Representatives.

But when they are driven from this Defence they run to another, which is, *that all the Ills we fear from Tyranny are much less than those we suffer from the Means we take to avoid them.* That is, *that all the Cruelties and Injustice of a Tyrant fall infinitely short of those of the Mob in a Free State.* This I confess, is as bold an Assertion, as the former, and equally True and Solid; that it is built on the same Front of Brass, and the same Sandy Foundation of *Whimsey* and *Heat.*

There is no Man, that is the least acquainted with History, *Antient*, and *Modern*, who does not know that all the Effects of those short Fits of Confusion, to which a *Free People* are subject by the Robustness of their Constitution, are far more Humane, and less frequent, than that of a *Tyranny.*

All the Tumults of *Rome*, when *entirely free*, were for 377 Years perfectly without Blood, till *Tiberius Gracchus*, endeavouring to restore that Ballance of Power betwixt the People and Nobility, which

the latter had unjuſtly engroſs'd, was Murder'd by the Obſtinacy of the Nobility, who had got into Poſſeſſion of the Lands, in which 300 dy'd in Defence of the dying Liberty of *Rome*; for that Ballance of Power being loſt, and the Property (with which Power always goes) being ſwallow'd by the Patricians, it was no longer a Free State but an Oligarchy. After which indeed *Marius* and *Sylla* ſtriving for the *Tyranny*, made her Streets flow with the Blood of the beſt and greateſt Senators, and Knights, the Common People not eſcaping.

Lacedemon and *Athens* in their Struggles for Liberty, and againſt *Uſurpation*, terminated their Rage with perhaps the Baniſhment of the Guilty, as is ſufficiently prov'd in Mr. *Sydney*'s Book of Government, where you may find abundant Proof of this my Aſſertion.

On the other Hand, view the Ancient Perſian Monarchies, that of *Philip* of *Macedon*, that of *Rome*, under Two Thirds of her Arbitrary Emperors, their *Caligula*'s, *Nero*'s, *Domitian*'s, *Heliogabalus*'s and the like, and what Multitudes of Murders, Confiſcations, Baniſhments, and the like, do we not read of in the Hiſtory of that City? But why do I give you Inſtances of Heathens, whoſe Example may be excepted againſt, (tho' they can't do that without departing from their Argument) let us ſee *Theodoſius the Great*, and Good, at *Theſſalonica*, where for a ſmall Offence (which I have now forgot) under pretence of exhibiting a publick Show, or Spectacle to the People, drew together at leaſt Seven Thouſand Men, Women, and Chil-

Children of that City, and the Adjacent Country, and then made his Soldiers cut them all to Pieces. And this alone of *One Monarch*, and he ſtil'd a Good One, is vaſtly more Blood than all the Ancient Popular Commotions that ever were in all the Free States of Antiquity.

To come to things more Modern, let any Man read the Accounts of *John Baſilowitz*, *Czar* of *Moſcovy*, who Murder'd Hundreds of his Nobility in a Day, and made them expire in Torments. Let us caſt an Eye on the *Pariſian* Maſſacre, and before we leave *France* take a View of the deſolate Provinces, in which have ſuffer'd, and from whence have been driven by the Arbitrary Power, contrary to his Edicts, ſo many Thouſands of Good and Innocent People, by their magnify'd *French* King. I need not have Recourſe to the *One and Twenty* (*Forty*, ſome ſay) *Millions* Maſſacred in the *Weſt-Indies* by the Arbitrary Power of *Cortez*, *Pizarro*, and the *Spaniſh* Generals, or Governours, tho' whether that were done by the Command of their Prince, or their own Will, it equally falls under *Arbitrary Power*.

I challenge theſe **Paſſive-Obedience-Men** to ſhow any thing, that bears the leaſt Proportion to this in any Free State.

The Rabble had never more Liberty, and Power, than in the Late Revolution, when the Government being Diſſolv'd, they had Elbow Room enough to do Miſchief with Impunity, yet in all their Rage, in all their Pillaging and Robbery, ſcarce one Man was kill'd, not even of the moſt Obnoxious, for they brought my Lord *Jeffrey*'s, when taken, before

a Magiſtrate, and ſurrender'd him to his Deciſion and the *Tower*. Of all the *Prieſts* and *Jeſuits* who were taken at *Graveſend*, where I my ſelf then was, not one was injur'd in his Perſon; as for their Effects indeed they thought it no Crime to take from them what they, contrary to Law, had robb'd the Nation of. There were indeed One or Two *Iriſh* Soldiers kill'd, but it was in their own Defence, on their firing on the Townſmen, to force them to ſend them a Pilot to get off an *Eaſt-India* Ship, which they had Seiz'd to carry off, and had run Aground. Yet ſpight of this Provocation, they did no Injury to Captain *Newgent*, or the other Soldiers who were taken in that *Tiltboat*, but confine them, and dreſs their Wounds.

From what has been ſaid I believe it will appear, that they will find it as hard a Matter to prove this laſt monſtrous *Paradox*, *That the worſt we can fear from Tyranny is leſs, than the Effects of a* **Free Government**, as their former of *Arbitrary* Power.

From what has been ſaid alſo it is plain, that **Paſſive Obedience** is far from being a *Rational* and *Juſt* Principle, and any Man, that is converſant with the Scripture will find that it has no better Foundation in Scripture. For as a Fundamental they lay it down, that Royalty is *Jure Divino*; but if that by the Scripture be prov'd falſe, all that is built on it muſt of Courſe fall to the Ground. The Inſtitution of the *Jewiſh* Commonwealth was immediately from God, and the Judges rul'd as immediately under him, in a Sort of Government oppoſite to all the Nations about them, which

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is evident from this (among a Thouſand) that if their Government were Monarchical, as the others, they cou'd not deſire to have a King like the reſt of the Aſiatick Nations; beſides, *Samuel's* Oration or Speech againſt Monarchy, which is ſuppos'd inſpir'd by the Spirit of God, wou'd have been ridiculous, if they were then a Monarchy. Next in chuſing a Deſpotick Monarchy, they rejected the Regiment of God, as if that of Tyranny was directly contrary to that; for tho' he was their King, yet he rul'd them like a Free People, by Known and Stated Laws; and ſhew'd them, that a Tyranny which they deſir'd was juſt the Reverſe of his Goverument, in which no Man cou'd call any thing his own.

This is ſufficient to cope with all the obſcure Texts, quoted by the Founders of *Arbitrary Government*, ſince 'tis impious to make God claſh with himſelf. As for the New Teſtament, there is not the leaſt Word about any Form of Government, but only Advice to be obedient to legal Magiſtrates and the ſettled Government, which no Body is ſo Mad to deny: But which has nothing to do with their Argument. The Kingdom of Chriſt was not of this World, and therefore he examin'd not into the ſeveral Forms of Government, nor meddl'd with what his coming had no immediate Concern. The *Paſſive* Men therefore can bring little, either from Him, or his Apoſtles, to their Purpoſe, without the laſt Conſtraint and Force.

Paſſive Obedience and **Non-reſiſtance** being thus confuted from Reaſon, from Natural and Revealed Religion, and from the Practice of the very

very Inventers and Promoters of it in their own Caſe, how impudent, as well as fooliſh, muſt they be, who attempt to revive a Doctrine as deſtructive, as ridiculous, in a Reign *entirely* founded on the **Revolution**. *Fooliſh* to hope to make it prevail, when the Eyes of, by vaſt Degrees, the Major Part of the People are open'd, and they convinc'd of the Error; and *Impudent*, in directly attacking the Queen's Title to the Crown: Unleſs theſe Gentlemen who give her any other but what is built *on* the **Revolution**, will let us know what it is. Moſt of them, if not all, are *Jacobites* profeſs'd, or at leaſt in Maſquerade, and ſurely theſe will not make her a Succeſſive Monarch. For while their immediate Heir is alive, ſhe can have no more Right to the Crown by *Lineal Succeſſion*, than the greateſt Stranger to the Royal Blood in the Univerſe. They aſſert, that the next of Kin to the Poſſeſſion of the Throne has the only Right to it, if ſo, none other can have any Right at all. Whence it follows, that a Stranger has as much Right as Her Majeſty, according to theſe Mens Principles; for of Two that have no Right at all, I can find no Degree of more or leſs, either in *Stranger* or *Relation*. So that they cannot give Her Sacred Majeſty a *Lineal*, or *Succeſſive Right* without, making her Father, and their own Idol, the moſt Conſummate of Villains, (if we may uſe ſuch a Word, e'en in Suppoſition) in impoſing a Suppoſitious Child on the Nation, which yet his very Enemies never attempted to prove. For my part I believe King *James* a much honeſter Man than

to

to rob his own Children of the Crown that was their due, to put it on the Head of a Stranger to his Blood. 'Tis true, he was unfortunately bigotted to the Popiſh Religion, but he cou'd never ſo far overcome the Force of Nature, and be ſo far impos'd on by the Prieſts, as to imagine, that what is againſt Nature and common Honeſty cou'd be agreeable to God and Religion.

He cou'd not plead Ignorance, but muſt be perfectly engaged in the Impoſture, ſince it was impoſſible but he ſhou'd know whether the Queen was with Child or not. But to accuſe King *James* of a thing of this Nature is far from their Intentions, ſince that wou'd give all Men ſo odious an Idea of him, as wou'd too much weaken the Party they wou'd promote. The Aim therefore of theſe Gentlemen muſt be to deprive Her Majeſty of all Manner of Title, ſince while they deny Her One, and that the moſt Juſt, and Solid, they will not ſupply her with another. With how little Reaſon then do they complain, and are angry that the Queen and Miniſtry do not preſer them, ſince their Principles allowing her no Title to their Fidelity, they muſt of Courſe betray whatever Truſt they obtain, to him, whoſe Right they more approve.

From what has been ſaid it plainly appears, that the Throne of our Gracious Queen is built on the **Revolution**; thoſe therefore who endeavour to inſinuate and ſpread Notions contrary to this as the *Obſervator Reform'd, &c.* ſuch as **Paſſive-Obedience** and **Non-reſiſtance**, are avow'd Enemies to the Queen. Nor can I imagine they can hope

again to endear themſelves to the Crown, eſpecially to her Majeſty, by trumping up theſe worn-out Doctrines again, while the Queen may well remember, that, notwithſtanding the violent Noiſe that was made about them, without Fear of incurring the *Damnable* and *Heretical* Cenſure of **Reſiſting**, nay, and Depoſing of Kings, (which I have made out) they obſerv'd them no longer, than they thought their Obſervation conducive to their Intereſt. So that ſhou'd Her Majeſty ſhow as Partial an Indulgence for the Diſſenters, as King *James* did for the Papiſts, ſhe has Reaſon to expect the ſame, or worſe Treatment from the ſame Hands; worſe, I ſay, becauſe if we may judge of the *Highfliers* Principles by their Books, they have leſs Averſion to the *Papiſts*, than to the *Diſſenters*, witneſs the *Regale*, which propoſes Methods of reuniting with the *one*, but will ſcarce allow of any Expedient for joining with the other; as *if to differ* **in Church Government** *and* **Ceremonials** *were more unpardonable, than to differ in* **Fundamentals.**

I ſpeak not this as if I were my ſelf a *Diſſenter*, or a *Favourer* of their Religious Opinions, from which I extreamly differ, and for ſome of which I have the laſt Averſion, but I ſpeak with an Impartiality neceſſary to the End I propoſe, of taking off the Maſque of Faction on both Sides, by ſhowing, that thoſe, who advance Doctrines any Way deſtructive of the Publick Good, are Party-Men, and drive on a private Intereſt, and only aſſume a Zeal for the *Church*, or the *Laws*, which they have not; to ſtrengthen their Party, by impoſing on the Honeſt and Well-meaning of both Sides.

From

From these Enquiries we have made into the Conduct of the *Church High-flier*, we plainly find him a downright *Jacobite*, and I believe it will be hard to find Two Pamphlets of that Stamp which were not written by *profess'd Jacobites*, whom we cannot suppose sincerely in the Interest of the *Church* and *State, as by Law Establish'd*. Their Scandals and Satyrs on the *Bishops* discover their Zeal for the Establish'd Church, and their Abuse of the House of Lords in more Pamphlets, than one, is a strong Proof of their Loyalty to our Constitution. The *Honest Trimmer*, or the truly *Moderate Man*, ought therefore to believe not one Word they say in Defence of their *Sincerity* and *Zeal*, for either of the Two, but assure himself from what has been said, that the **Passive-Obedience** Monger has a private Interest to engage him in by so winning a Bait.

I shall now, according to my Proposal, turn my Eye to the other Side, and be as free in my Censure and Reasonings, as their Errors appear to me to deserve. The general Means of finding out a *High-Flier*, are when you find Private Resentment transport him against the *Publick*, or when he shall for the Sake of any Particulars rail at, or write against, any Part of our *Constitution*. Those likewise who ridicule, and with Buffoonery laugh at the *Church by Law Establish'd*, either as to its *Episcopal* Government or *Liturgy*, striving more to please your Fancy, or Spleen with a *Sarcasm*, than to convince your Understanding by Reason and Solid Argument. Those who rail at, and ridicule our Ministers of State, our Generals, Admirals,

&c. without knowing the Cauſes and Reaſons of the Counſels, they condemn the Circumſtances of Armies, Navies, *&c.* or whether all things ſo concur as that it is conſiſtent with common Prudence and common Senſe to *Fight*, or whether indeed the Enemy can be drawn to an Engagement or Battle. Some of theſe Gentlemen have been forc'd to recant their Scandal from unexpected Events; which if they had any Senſe of Shame ſhou'd make them Bluſh, or any Senſe of Modeſty make them refrain repeating the ſame Folly again. Thoſe who run down and calumniate all *Churchmen* in Office, tho' they never were branded with *Jacobitiſm*, or refus'd the Oaths, or Acting in the Late King's Time. Thoſe who exclaim againſt the Houſe of Commons, who are ſo conſiderable a Part of our Government, our ſureſt Bulwark againſt Arbitrary *Power*, the moſt certain Fence of our Liberties and Property, having ſo large a ſhare to loſe, and that either for the Sake of ſome few particular Men, who at leaſt lay under very Shrew'd Suſpicions of having injur'd the Public, e'en by the Confeſſion of thoſe, who now eſpouſe their Cauſe; as if in a *Patriot*'s Eye *their* Intereſt, tho' oppreſs'd, were a ſufficient Ballance for the Publick Good and Safety of the Nation, and the Inviolableneſs of our Conſtitution; or on account of the Bill againſt *Occaſional Conformity*: Which Practice was not only condemn'd by the Sober Diſſenters, but wrote againſt by Mr. *de Foe*, in his Diſpute with Mr. *How*, on that Point, tho' afterwards defended by ſome of the ſame againſt Sir *Humphrey Machworth*; for this

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chopping about to contraries, is a manifeſt Diſcovery, that they are only *Party-Men*, not *Patriots*; ſerve a *Turn*, not their Country; aim at their own particular private Intereſt, by being blindly ſubſervient to the Deſigns of their Directors and Leaders.

But before I proceed to give any farther Marks, I will, with all the Impartiality I am able, examine into the reaſonableneſs of that Controverſie of the Bill about *Occaſional Conformity*, which has made ſuch a Noiſe, and been the Riſe of ſo much Scandal, ſo many Lampoons and Pamphlets, in which the Advocates of *Moderation* have ſhown how far they are from the Practice of the Doctrine, which they have made ſuch a Pother about, as if they meant that the Church of *England* ſhou'd have *Moderation* towards them, but that they wou'd ſhow none to thoſe who declar'd for the *Church*.

The *Church of England* pretends only to ſecure her ſelf without injuring her Neighbours, and if ſhe aim'd at no more in that Bill, all reaſonable Men muſt juſtifie her in her Endeavours, Self-preſervation being the firſt Law of Nature; if that *Bill* contain'd any thing beyond this, it muſt be allow'd faulty, and might without Heat and Animoſity have been amended. But Noiſe and Violence can never be the Effect of Reaſon; nor can it judge juſtly of things, when the Judgment is ſo diſorder'd, as the Predominancy of any Paſſion diſorders it; and all Violence muſt be the Effect of Paſſion. In my Opinion the Caſe of the Conformity Bill was not whether any other Nation pro-

promiſcuouſly admitted Divers Religions to a ſhare in the Government, or Places of Truſt, ſince it was plain by the Acts already in Force, that all but the *Church of England* were excluded in this Nation; and that becauſe ſome Men had found a Way to break through the Intention of the Act by an Occaſional Conforming for a Place, which the Papiſts might do, as well, as the *Diſſenters*, the *Churchmen* deſign'd by this New Act only to explain the Old, ſo as to render it of Force, and not a Collection of ſo many empty Words without Meaning, but deſign'd no New Settlement, or Encroachment on the *Diſſenters*.

The State of the Caſe will eaſily ſhow who are **Engliſhmen**, and who not.

The *Diſſenters* have always pretended, that a Liberty for tender Conſciences was all their Aim, that is, an undiſturb'd Exerciſe of their Religion, which all good Men muſt allow both Juſt and Reaſonable.

The *Church of England*, being the *National* and *Eſtabliſh'd Church*, and as much a Part of our Conſtitution as our Property, for it is founded on the ſame Power, *viz.* Acts of Parliament, deſires only to ſecure her ſelf againſt the Invaſion of the **Sectaries**, leſt they having the Power in their Hands, ſhou'd do by her, as by her Siſter in *Scotland*, or as they did when they overpower'd her in *Forty-One*. And ſure no Man can juſtly pretend that this is either *Unreaſonable* or *Unjuſt*. If the Diſſenters are ſincere in their Profeſſions, and do not, under the Hypocritical Maſque of Religion, aim at uſurping All, or a Part of the Power now

of

of Right in the Church, they cannot be againſt this *Security*; nay, to ſhow their Sincerity, they ought to Vote and Write for ſuch a Bill, more, than they have againſt this. But if they are not ſincere, and wou'd graſp at a Power diſtinct from Liberty of worſhipping God after their own Way, no Man in his Wits, and who is an impartial Lover of Juſtice, can blame the *Church* for uſing her utmoſt Endeavours to ſecure her ſelf, by preſerving the Power ſhe already has in her own Hands. Provided therefore there be an Act made that does not invade the Rights, Property and Religion of the *Diſſenters*, they have no juſt Cauſe of Complaint.

I muſt needs ſay (to ſpeak my own particular Opinion) that I never cou'd yet hear of any *tolerable* Reaſon why there ſhou'd be any Scruple of entirely conforming, if a Man cou'd conform for a *Place*. For either the Differences betwixt the *Church* and the *Schiſm* are *ſmall* and *indifferent*, and in ſmall and indifferent Matters, or they are oppos'd in Fundamentals, that the Doctrines of the one appear Damnable and Heretical to the other, or at leaſt contrary to a tender and good Conſcience; in the firſt Caſe there is no Plea at all for a Separation, in the latter, neither the Nature of the Thing, nor the Scripture, ever made any Worldly Conſideration a ſufficient Diſpenſation.

I urge not this as if I were for obliging any one by a Temporal Force to any Opinion, ſince I am ſatisfy'd that is no Chriſtian Method, or agreeable to God, who cou'd have ſent our Saviour with Temporal Power enough to have compell'd the

the Propagation of his choſen Religion, if Force had been approv'd of by him; but it having been h s Eternal Pleaſure to make Man a free Agent, the moſt effectual Way to move and gain ſu.h a one was by Reaſon and Perſwaſion; and when *Peter* went to defend *Chriſt* himſelf againſt the Officers of the *Jews*, he was reprimanded by our *Saviour*, when he told him, that if he had thought Force neceſſary, he cou'd command Legions of Angels to his Reſcue. What I have urg'd there is only to the Diſſenters, as they are Rational Creatures, and when I can ſee any ſhadow of a Reaſon for the Contrary, I will allow them to have more Reaſon for that contradictory Conduct, than I can yet conceive. But if they are fond of their Opinions, and deſire to propagate them, let them not be angry at the *Church* if they find her as Zealous for hers. But I ſhall ſay more of Perſecution and Moderation at the End of this Eſſay; all that I inſiſt on now is, that whoever of the Diſſenters, or their Favourers, are for puſhing Matters beyond a ſecure Liberty of Conſcience, are not true **Engliſhmen**, but prefer the Triumph and Power of a Party before the Peace and Happineſs of their Country, and by conſequence may by this be known to the truly Honeſt Trimmer, or real Patriot, ſo as to arm him againſt their ſpecious Inſinuations to enter farther into their Intereſt, than conſiſts with the true Service of the Publick.

Thoſe are alſo *High-Fliers* who aim at the Deſtruction of our Conſtitution by writing Books for an *Ariſtocracy*, of which Nature there is one eminent, and whoſe Author I am loth to believe

to

to be ſo learned a Father of the *Church*, as him to whoſe Charge it is laid. They muſt think the People very Ignorant of their preſent Happineſs, who can be cajol'd to reſtore to the Nobility a Power ſo dangerous to their Liberties, and to the Crown, as they once pretended to, and poſſeſs'd by being Maſters of the Property of this Nation, till the Wiſdom of *Henry* VII. put an end to it by the Alienation Act, *&c.* Beſides, it is an Attempt as fooliſh, as impious, for what is more fooliſh, than to aim at Impoſſibilities? And this cannot be effected till they can bring the Property back into their Hands from the Commons, for where there is the Property, there will be the Power. Thus when the *Roman* Nobility had engroſs'd the *Property*, they deſtroy'd the Ballance of Power in that Common-Wealth, which in a few Years ended in the entire Loſs of its Liberty under *Sylla*, and *Cæſar*.

This the *Gracchi* foreſaw, and this made them ſuch Sticklers, for the reſtoring the *Agrarian Law*, which was to make the Diſtribution of Property more equal, ſo that they were indeed Martyrs for the Publick Good, tho' the Writers of that Time being in the Intereſt of the Nobility, repreſented them as Traytors, for as ſucceſsful Vice is call'd Virtue, ſo unſucceſsful Virtue is term'd Vice by the Ignorant.

The Nobility (like all guilty Powers) were too jealous of what they had uſurp'd, not to ſtruggle againſt any ſuch Law, or not to ruin both the Perſons and Reputations of ſuch Men, who had boldneſs enough to aſſault their Tyranny.

I believe there are few Inſtances to be given in any Country of the Exorbitant Power and Wealth of the Nobility, where that Country did not at laſt fall into perfect Slavery, witneſs *Denmark* and *Sweedland*, as well as *Rome*.

The Folly therefore of ſuch an Attempt is viſible enough, and I believe the *Impiety* will not be leſs plain, when we conſider that it muſt be to involve our Native Country in a Bloody Civil War, in a Cauſe whoſe Succeſs muſt be its Ruin. For no Conſtitution is deſtroy'd without the laſt Struggle and Agony of the Commonwealth, and which in all probability muſt make us a Prey to our Neighbours. Tho' the difference is not great to the People, whether they are Slaves to a Foreign or Domeſtick Power. Theſe therefore are *High-Fliers*, who ought not to have any Influence on an *Engliſhman*, and true Lover of the Liberty and Happineſs of his Country. Their private Spirit is not hard to be diſcover'd, and therefore not difficult to be avoided.

This leads me to another Sort of **High-Fliers**, the *Commonwealthmen*, who profeſs an Averſion to all Manner of *Kingly Government*, under whatever Reſtrictions and Conditions. But they are very weak Politicians, who do not know that the leſs ſubject a State is to Change, the more valuable it is. But a limitted *Monarchy* is the more certain and permanent, and leaſt ſubject to Revolutions, as long as the Ballance is preſerv'd. The Executive Power being fixt, cuts off all the Aim of Ambitious and Turbulent Spirits, who by being popular in a *Republick*, have it often in their Power to

diſturb,

disturb, nay, overturn the Constitution, of which History gives Numbers of Instances. This made *Machiavel*, a Politician of the first Reputation, prefer the *Roman* Commonwealth to those of *Greece*, because compos'd of *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy*, and *Democracy*, which had the Advantages of all, and the Inconveniences of none. But the *Roman Commonwealth* was ruin'd by losing the Ballance. The Consuls were not an equal Poize for the People and Nobility, the last of which was too heavy for both. But in the *English* State the Mixture is now Just, and must therefore be more Permanent, if preserv'd; those *High-Flyers*, therefore, who are for weakning or destroying any of the Three Estates, are Enemies of our Constitution, and notwithstanding all their specious Pretences are agitated by a private Spirit, to carry on some particular Interest, and have some Aim or Advantage of their own in View, and shou'd not therefore have any Influence on our honest *Trimmer*, or true *Englishman*.

These Two are known by the Invectives and Railings of one against the Lords and King, or Queen; the other against the Commons. The latter have been more remarkable of late in their *Legion Papers*, and *Black Lists*, and *Satyrs* on the whole Body of the *House of Commons*. For these Sort of Appeals from their Representatives to the People, is making the Rabble the Judge, and courting Anarchy and Confusion by a total Dissolution of our **Constitution**: Nor can they be suppos'd Friends to the *English* Government, or the Publick Good, but sordid Slaves to some private

Paſſion, or Intereſt. For thoſe only are true Patriots, who are not for any one of the Three Eſtates in Oppoſition to the other, or wou'd divide their Power, but he who loves and obeys the whole as our Conſtitution (and that the happieſt in the World) requires.

To find ſo many of the *Diſſenters* (for I cannot believe the whole Body ſo corrupt) and Whigs ſo *hot* againſt the *Houſe of Commons* for Errors, they (who are private Perſons) ſuppoſe them guilty of, very much calls in Queſtion, nay, condemns their paſt Zeal for them in the Reigns of the Two *Charles*'s. No Error that honourable Body can be guilty of, can be of that Fatal Conſequence to the Good and Happineſs of theſe Nations, as ſo Pernicious and Traiterous a Conduct and Method. For the *Houſe of Commons* have too large a Share in the Property and Liberty of *England*, ever to be ſo unanimous as to ſurrender all to the Crown; whereas this Method muſt deſtroy their beſt, nay, only *Security*, in deſtroying their Foundation in our **Conſtitution**. It is therefore a certain Demonſtration, that thoſe who are ſo violent in this Point, have Aims private, and diſtinct from, nay, oppoſite to the Publick Good, and Welfare of their *Country*, let them uſe what plauſible Arguments they pleaſe for their Heat and Actions. Theſe therefore we may juſtly call *Whigs*, or *Tories*, not *Engliſhmen*, for both have taken the ſame Meaſures in different Circumſtances, and are for this Reaſon all Factious.

I am not at all mov'd with the Clamours of these Gentlemen, when they cry out, ——*That the* **Jacobites** *and* **High Tories** *are for this Parliament*, ——for I care not from whom the *Reason* comes, provided it *be* **Reason**; it is the greater shame for them to be Enemies to our *Constitution*, when such Men declare for it, who have so long fought against it in vain. If the *Jacobites* or *Tory High-Fliers* plead for our *Established Government*, I will allow their Arguments, tho' I will very much doubt their *Sincerity*; and attribute their present Zeal for our Constitution, meer to their Hopes of wid'ning our Domestick Breach, by espousing the Publick Cause, which their Lives, Doctrines and Endeavours, have been all along directed to undermine; and 'tis a Proof that they think this Argument both forcible and popular, when they make use of it to cover more sinister Designs.

To answer a Man therefore that stands up for so considerable a Part of our Constitution, as the House of Commons, that the *Jacobites* declare for it, seems like *Jack* in the *Tale of a Tub*, who minded not what was in his Father's *Will*, but what was opposite to *Peter*. A very preposterous and foolish Way of Reasoning, and which ought to have no Influence on a Man of Judgment. I cannot therefore think my self oblig'd to quit my **Reason** and my **Honesty**, because some of the *Rabbi's* of the *Jacobite* Faction pretend to be for them; for I mind not whose Opinion it is, but how far it is agreeable to **Truth** and **Reason**; and I only wish that the *Jacobites* were sincere in what they say, and then I wou'd allow them to be true

Englishmen

Engliſhmen, but then they muſt renounce all their former Tenents, and ſo ceaſe to be *Jacobites*.

I am for the Queen, Lords and Commons, for neither in Oppoſition to the other: And while we have a Princeſs, that is ſo tender, and ſo graciouſly careful of our Rights, as ſhe has declar'd her ſelf, that ſhe wou'd never invade them, or make the Prerogative claſh with the Liberties of her People; while we have *Commons* that deny not the Rights of the other Two Eſtates; and Lords who are content with their Legiſlative and Judiciary Share of the Government, I can without Difficulty pay my Juſt Reſpect, Duty and Obedience to all, without offending any, but can never ſide with any againſt either.

There are likewiſe **High-fliers**, who rail at the *Church of England* for their Perſecuting Principles. But the Tyranny which the Diſſenters us'd when they were uppermoſt, gives them no Ground of Right to be ſo violent in their Complaints againſt the *Church*; for ſince both have been guilty of the ſame in their Turns, neither has a Right to accuſe the other. The Caſe is alter'd, they are now both ſecur'd from Perſecution, and what both pretend to deſire, is only a Confirmation of that Security. But I have heard it urg'd, that in capacitating the Diſſenters for Places is a Perſecution, ſince the Perſecution of the *Chriſtians* by *Julian the Apoſtate* was not by Tortures or Death, but by denying them Places, and the uſe of the Publick Learning in the Books of the Philoſophers, Poets, Hiſtorians, *&c.* which they were forbid

bid to teach in their Schools, and that yet this was by ſome of the Fathers ſtil'd the moſt deſtructive of all the *Heathen Perſecutions*, becauſe *Julian*'s Preferment of the Apoſtates made more Fall, than the Racks and Tortures of the other Emperors.

This is an Inſtance indeed of the Frailty of thoſe Chriſtians, who cou'd prefer Worldly Advantages to the Goſpel of Chriſt; but not finding thoſe Temporal Benefits among the Promiſes of our Saviour, or his Religion, I cannot ſuppoſe a Denial of them any Perſecution. Nor can I think it can be in any other Senſe term'd a Perſecution, than in that the *Chriſtian* Religion was then the *National* Church, and was oppreſs'd by the *Heathen*, during its ſhort Uſurpation over it. Nor do I think it can juſtly be call'd a Perſecution, as long as they had a Liberty of Exerciſing their Religion. Tho' *Julian*, notwithſtanding his pretended Moderation in ſome of his Letters, in others diſcover'd his Rancour, particularly againſt *Athanaſius*.

I think I have given the Reader the moſt conſiderable Marks of the *High-Fliers* of all Sides, who under plauſible Pretexts have inſinuated themſelves into the good Opinion of the Honeſt Patriot or Churchmen, as if truly Zealous for our *Country* or *Church*, when they are carrying on Deſigns deſtructive of both.

The Riſe and Cauſes of our Diviſions being here diſcover'd, and the Fomenters of our Diviſions thus expos'd, I hope the honeſt Part of the Nation will not be inveigled by either Side to

neglect

neglect the Common Interest and Safety of the Publick for the sake of Piques or Interest. The Difficulty does not seem great to satisfie both Parties, if what each pretends be no more, than Liberty of Conscience of the one Side, and Securing the Church on the other, and that being what all true *Englishmen* desire, the speedy effecting it will remove that Handle, which the Enemies of our Government and Mankind, the **Passive-Obedience** and **Non-resistance** *Mongers*, and the **Modern Whigs**, take hold of to keep up our Feuds, that in that Distraction each may bring about their Trayterous Designs.

It is therefore propos'd, that the *Church of England* disavow all Persecution, and allow a *Free* and *Secure Liberty* of *Conscience*, till her Controversies with the Dissenters are decided by an infallible Judge, and such an infallible Judge as all Mankind shall own as such.

That she declare against that Abominable and Heretical Doctrine of **Passive-Obedience** and **Non-resistance**, to Princes distinct from the other Constitutive Part of our Government, nay, e'en to the Suppression of the Laws. This is a Doctrine that has lost her more Members than all others, so truly unpopular, and so visibly unjust, that it has reasonably render'd her suspected, nay, and condemn'd, not to say hated, by the greatest Part of those who have either *Property* or *Liberty* to lose, and have any Sense of the Loss of them: And this has rais'd her up such Opposers, who fear'd, that if she had it entirely in her Power to make and form Laws exclusive of the *Dissenters*, and

and thoſe, who are for our Legal Rights, ſhe ſhou'd ſurrender them ſome Time or other in Fact, and by Law to the Prince, to raiſe her Grandeur to an equality with that of the Popiſh Clergy, as ſhe had by this Doctrine done it in Principle.

Were this Doctrine, I ſay, ſolemnly renounc'd, as the Mercenary Speculation of ſome flattering Divines, and as none of her Fundamental Precepts, or even Advice, I am of Opinion that it wou'd reclaim more Deſerters from the Diſſenters, than all their Pecuniary Mulcts, and Sanguinary Laws, that render the Papal Inquiſitions ſo formidable.

On the other Hand, the *Diſſenters* are adviſ'd to ſhow that Moderation, they preſcribe, by contenting themſelves with their *Liberty of Conſcience*, Freedom of Corporations, and of being choſen Members of Parliament, *&c.* without deſiring to come into the Adminiſtration, leſt they convince the World that they aim at **Power**, not **Religion**; for no Man that is not fond of a Popiſh Inquiſition, wou'd be deſirous of being ſubject to an *Aſſembly of Divines*. The State of the Nation, during their Dominion in *Oliver*'s Time, and at preſent in *Scotland*, have not ſo amiable a Face to charm us to a new Submiſſion to their Regiment. So that their purſuing this again, wou'd engage all Wiſe and Good Men againſt them; and nothing can be a greater Argument of their Deſign of Purſuing this, than their refuſing to ſit down with a Security in their Property, and the Exerciſe of their **Religion**.

Let the Heads therefore of theſe Two Parties, who are ſincere in the Honeſty of their Undertaking,

draw up an *Act of Parliament*, by which all Places of Truſt be ſecur'd to the Members of the Church of *England*; and that an Oath be taken by the Lords and Commons before they can Sit, that nothing ſhall be admitted into a Debate in either Houſe, nor any Act paſt in Prejudice, or tending to the Alteration of the *Church Eſtabliſh'd*, or (if that be not ſufficient) that it be made Treaſon to mention any Act to that End or Purpoſe. That the ſame be done as to their not allowing any Attempt to be made on the *Liberty of Conſcience*. Thus our Property and Liberty are ſecur'd by letting them into the Legiſlative Power, who are of Principle of *Liberty* and *Property*; and the Church is ſecure by diſabling them for ever from making any Law to her Prejudice, or having any other Power out of the Houſe to deſtroy her, while Places of Truſt are in the Hands of her Sons.

Whoever oppoſes a Propoſal or Method of this Nature, which may be much improv'd by the Wiſdom of the Nation, muſt be an Enemy to our **Church** and our **Conſtitution**, whereas this eſtabliſh'd muſt make us Happy, and put an End to all our dangerous Factions.

Some

Some Thoughts on Moderation truly Stated.

WHen a Man of any Temper or Judgment reads the Pamphlets that are daily publiſh'd of both Sides, and in Converſation hears the Noiſie and violent Diſputes the Zealous of each Party maintain, with the little Reaſon couch'd in a Multiplicity of Words, where abundance of Heat paſſes for Senſe and Reaſon, he wou'd wonder that any Lover of Truth or Juſtice ſhou'd be againſt *Moderation*. One Side calls the other Jacobite, High-Flier, Tory, Perkinnite, *&c.* the other returns the Complement, and clamours mightily with the Exprobrations of *Whig*, *Fanatick*, *Republican*, *Forty-One Man*, and the like. Thus they endeavour to Stigmatize each other's Arguments with Names, inſtead of confuting them by Reaſons, and throw them aſide under thoſe Imputations without examining their Force, whereas in *Right Reaſon* the Argument ought to be look'd on, not the Perſon or his Principle who urges it, or what Side he is of. A juſt Friend to Truth won'd take this Method, and all who do not are truly *High-Fliers* on one Side or the other, and therefore equally Criminal.

In this Place I think I ought to explain what I mean by **Moderation** before I proceed, leſt we ſhou'd engage in a meer War of *Words*, which is what has a large Share in the Diſputes of all Ages, and if that had been ſettled in the Former Pamphlets on this Point, we had not had ſo many on it.

Some take **Moderation** for *Indifference*, and therefore bring all the Arguments they can againſt *Indifference* in *Religion*; this indeed is what no Man can defend, as diſcovering a Want of *Faith* and *Practice*. A *Lukewarmneſs* or *Lazy Supinity* in the known Duties of Chriſtianity, of which Charity, the Love of one another, is the chief. But what I mean by **Moderation**, is that we admit no Heat againſt our Neighbour for differing with us in Opinion, or Principle of Religion, for there can be no Heat of that Nature without *Paſſion*, and all that is Paſſionate is Irrational, as well as Unchriſtian, which is unworthy a Man and a Believer in the *Goſpel*, for both theſe ought to have their Paſſions at command on thoſe Occaſions; for it is impoſſible to decide juſtly of Arguments with Paſſion, that is, without *Moderation*.

If we had an Infallibility in the Truth of our own Opinion in the controverted Points, we ought not to be violent againſt our Neighbour for not believing as we do, becauſe it is no Means of Conviction of a *Free ational* Creature; it is impoſſible to force the Mind by Violence, it evades all the Efforts againſt its Freedom; force may make Hypocrites, but never Converts. The Effect of Violence in any Man, is the ſtopping the Ears, and hardning the Heart againſt any Opinion, that is ſo promoted, for Men are apt to think there cannot be much Reaſon where there is ſo much Paſſion, and the Prejudice, that ariſes from ſuch a Conduct is ſo ſtrong, that it makes abundance averſe e'en to Truth ſo contradictorily convey'd; for a Paſſion in us raiſes a Paſſion in our Opponent, and betwixt Two ſuch violent Paſſions how is it poſſible but that Truth muſt be loſt? Perſecution, one Effect of this Violence, I am confident more advances, than quells any Doctrine

for

for Men and Women, who are generally govern'd by their Passions, being mov'd to Compassion at the Sufferings of their Neighbour on account of Religion, because they suppose they are in the Right who undergo so much for Conscience Sake, believe them in the Right, and so become Converts to their Opinions: And our past Severities, I am satisfy'd, gain'd the *Dissenters* more Converts than all their Lectures.

Humane Nature methinks shou'd teach Men *Moderation* in Matters of Opinion, since it is so very subject to Err, and is left without such an Evidence of our Controverted Points, as will amount to a perfect Demonstration of either. That Errors and Difference of Opinion are natural to Man, sure no Man will dispute, nor can any Candid Person deny but that the Christian Religion it self was not Free from Controversie, as soon as its Blessed Author was ascended into Heaven; this is plain from the Disputes of the *Apostles* themselves and their Convocations, and Assemblies to determine them. As *Acts* 15. v. 1. *Then came down certain from* Judea, *and taught the Brethren, saying, except ye be Circumcis'd after the Manner of* Moses, *ye cannot be Sav'd*; the next Verse tells us of the great Dissention there was about it. And St. *Paul* was sensible of this in the 20th Chap. *Acts* v. 30. *Moreover of your own selves shall Men arise, speaking perverse things to draw Disciples after them.* And our Blessed Saviour foretold it, when he said that for his Sake Fathers wou'd hate their Sons, and Sons their Fathers, *&c.* St. *Peter* tells us that there were hard things in St. *Paul*'s Epistles; and St. *Paul* withstood St. *Peter* to his Face on difference of Opinion.

But if there are these and many more Instances of Controversies of Religion so very near the Fountain Head,

Head, certainly the Reason is vastly stronger that there shou'd be such now, at so considerable a Distance.

Notwithstanding which we find how apt the very Apostles were to proceed to Violence on Separation from, or not joining with them, *Luke* 9. 49. *And* **John** *answer'd and said, Master, we saw one casting out Devils in thy Name, and we forbad him, because he followeth thee not with us.*

50. *Then* **Jesus** *said unto him, forbid ye him not, for he that is not against us, is with us.*

I must transcribe the Six following Verses, because they show the same violent Spirit of our *High-Fliers* rebuk'd by our Saviour, and that it prevail'd among the *Samaritans* as well as *Jews*.

51, &c. *And it came to pass when the Days were accomplish'd that he shou'd be receiv'd up, he settled himself fully to go to* **Jerusalem**; *and sent Messengers before him, and they went and entred into a Town of the* **Samaritans** *to prepare him Lodging; but they wou'd not receive him, because his Behaviour was as tho' he wou'd go to* **Jerusalem**; *and when his Disciples* **James** *and* **John** *saw it, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command that fire come down from Heaven and consume them, e'en as* **Elias** *did? But* **Jesus** *turn'd about and* **Rebuked** *them, and said,* **you know not of what Spirit** *you are.*

From hence it is apparent that our Saviour was entirely against this violent *Spirit*, which was none of his: And next we discover the violence of the *High-flying Samaritans* so great, that they wou'd not afford a Lodging to a *Jew*, who was going to Worship at *Jerusalem*, not *Samaria*.

But

But all the Hereſies that aroſe from Chriſt to *Conſtantine*, found no Perſecution of one Chriſtian by another, any farther than *Words*; they thought an Interdiction of the Rights and Benefits of their Spiritual Communion Puniſhment ſufficient for Errors of Judgment, and if Admonition and Argument were not enough to bring them over, they left them to enjoy their Opinion, and Civil Rights, as far as their Conſciences wou'd let them, without any Fear of Hereſies and Schiſms deſtroying the Orthodox, if not kept under by Penal Laws and Inquiſitions.

It may be objected, that the Chriſtians had it not in their Power to make Laws, *&c.* while they were not at the Head of Affairs; yet conſidering that they had a Sort of Government among themſelves I might inſiſt on it; but I infer from the Objection, that if the Orthodox cou'd not be overpower'd when Hereſie had its full Swinge without the Curb of Temporal Laws and Power, thoſe Laws and that Power were not neceſſary for that End, and few I think pretend but that in the Firſt General Councils the Orthodox were much the more numerous.

But when once the Meek Principles of the Chriſtian Religion were debauch'd by the *Power* which the Indulgence of Chriſtian Princes beſtow'd on the Clergy, then nothing but Death and Baniſhment, Confiſcation of Goods, Impriſonment, Tortures, and all the Inhumane Cruelties of the Heathen, became the Mode of the Chriſtian Prelates of the *High-flying* Kidney; tho' ſo contrary to the *true Spirit* of the *Goſpel*, which has a Tenderneſs for thoſe Frailties of Mankind, which drew the Son of God down from Heaven.

Thoſe

Those therefore who are for a Hotheaded Zeal in Difference of Opinion, are not of that *Christian Spirit* which our Saviour requir'd; but those who are truly *Moderate*, and are not for Hanging, Imprisoning, *&c.* of their Brethren and Neighbours, meerly because they can't think as they do, have the juster Mark of good *Christians*, and by Consequence of *good Church-men.* Let them enjoy their *Samaritan* Zeal, I hope all Honest Men will think our Saviour more worthy Imitation, and then they cannot be *High-Fliers*, but Friends to **Moderation.**

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